/509 cont./

463 craftsmen who professionally produce a certain article for the rest of the population. No one need fear professional jealousy or unfair competition, because everyone works for his own needs. Obviously, the natural endowment and personal effort of individuals are very different, whereas the material used is generally always the same. Anyone who has a sense of beautiful form and who takes pleasure in a neatly made article sometimes attains great mastery in his work.

535 The Yamana have special expressions to characterize this ability in the various fields of daily activity. We have just mentioned the word yetánakipa for a capable basket-weaver; wĕstágutĕs (according to BD:615 "clever, expert, neat in work" /cited in English/) means one whose manual skill in general overshadows others; yĕsmánu has the same meaning.

Thus a certain stamp of individual personality, at least of an individual method of work, without conscious intent, however, marks each object as the product of the person who made it. Of course, everyone recognizes his own product, and this is made even easier by the fact that the possessions of an individual are very limited. For a practiced eye the difference between two objects of a similar type is sometimes very great. Everyone evaluates things that are excellently made or that have turned out particularly well no less accurately than he does inadequate and shabby articles. People who work skillfully and produce good things are appreciated far and wide (225); on the basis of their

225. Despard (b):717 wrote: "The dextrous spear, paddle, and canoe-maker, is held in honour, and called yersh-man-oa, or handyman" /cited in English/.

products, a father often spurs his son on to more exact and industrious handwork.

437 463 Personal excellence, as a result of which some person or other is able to produce a certain article, brings about the transfer of certain items to other hands by way of barter. There is no getting around the fact that one person has more dexterity and skill for one thing and another person for some other thing. /510/ /Fig. 54 appears here./ Fitz-Roy (a):186 was very definitely made aware of

/527 cont./

223 soon die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are bare of leaves, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he [302] paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves [555] in the difficult art of shag catching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men trust in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /528/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as čewur[1]. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians ram a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sinews, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death (251). The trapper can

251. Bridges (h):210 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden lures" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (q):359, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three slivers of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/1320 cont./

X 575 granted that every man is sufficiently familiar with the wealth of information that is reserved for the male population. The desire for fellowship and the fun they have at this strange performance are, in themselves, strong enough to make everyone hasten to the spot where a men's ceremony is being held, provided that the distance is not too great or that a man is not prevented from attending by illness. Even if it is only curiosity that impels this or that man to join a particular group that is holding this affair, he is inevitably drawn to the gathering-place. The length of time that each individual stays depends on his personal inclination. For this reason one cannot generalize about the number of participants or give a minimum number for any particular day. /1321/ Even at the place where a Kina celebration is held, individual families constantly come and go in an indefinite, unpredictable succession, which is naturally more active when the influx to this celebration as such is stronger. Personal wishes and tendencies also play a part in that one man will almost never be absent and will stay from beginning to end while another will find little pleasure in it and, having had enough after a few days, will again seek the open spaces.

X 575 555 Every group that has finally decided to hold a men's ceremony must find an experienced old man who is willing to assume the office of leader, which demands skill and thorough familiarity with the many details. In addition, considerable moral superiority over all the men taking part stands the leader in good stead. Finally, he must be very alert mentally in order to direct the motley assortment of many spirits and their appearances. Certainly not every older Yamana makes a useful kína tagáguwa, as the leader is called. He also is responsible for providing the candidates with everything in the way of training and admonitions that ancient custom demands. It is the leader alone who determines the order of events and the program for each day. He does not have a proxy. If he were unable to act for any length of time or if, for any reason, he had to quit altogether, the assembly looks for another kína tagáguwa or disbands. There is no definite rule about it, but actually, without exception, a yékamuš takes over the office of Kina leader. The basic ideas in the Kina are compatible with the conceptual world of the medicine man. The very fact that the leader is a yékamuš gives him a decided advantage.

/1425 cont./

X757 754 leaves his body and meets his Haučéllakĭpa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the kĕspíx of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the kĕspíx defends itself, Haucélla is stronger and finally hurla a yĕkuš at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his kĕspíx does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haucélla fatally injures a kĕspíx with the yĕkuš of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yékamuš succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haucélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watauinĕíwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yékamuš are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yékamuš.

δ. Feats of Strength

X756 787 [555] There are all kinds of occasions when a yékamuš wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yékamuš in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were tossing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

/1445 cont./

86 153 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands [555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yékamuš rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 873 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[682] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,